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The Workers and NIRA

A circus is supposedly a place where acrobats and all sorts of magicians, better known as fakers, perform their fetes at such rapid speed that before one is able to detect the performed humbug, the eyes are already being decoyed by a succeeding debacle.

Something very similar has and is now happening to the NRA.

When it was first exhibited to the public, the press liars, radio and movies of the entire country saw to it that the impression which the NRA circus was to create should even surpass that of any ordinary circus. For, the entire structure of capitalism was facing a crisis that was about to usher in a revolution which might have put it out of commission for good.

Yet, despite its seeming, self-advertised success, the NRA, after one year of performing its stunts, is assuming the appearance of a disrobed circus.

About a year ago, when the NRA circus began its operations, this journal came forth to expose it as another cleverly worked-out scheme with which to save the collapsing system of exploitation and to perpetuate its reign. It has taken the workers a year of bloody experience to find out how close to reality our stand has proved itself to be.

Out in the coal fields of Alabama, the workers learned what the "magna charta of labor" really meant. Police, soldiers, and sheriffs "performed," not a circus stunt, but blood-bath after blood-bath of workers who were striking to make employers live up to the prescribed promises of the NRA. Death to five of their fighting comrades, and scores being left crippled, is all that the workers got out of the NRA!

In the city of Minneapolis, Minn., where a farm-labor, semi-socialist administration reigns, the workers received another taste of what the NRA can give them. Backed by the pro-socialist state administration, the local police and sheriffs repeated a similar blood-bath, upon the workers of Minneapolis, to the one in the coal fields of Alabama. A few workers were murdered and scores crippled and jailed.

In Toledo, Ohio, sheriffs and soldiers enacted a bloody attack upon striking workers—again for the enforcement of the prescribed NRA provisions—that brought death and scores of wounded to the workers. The arrested strikers numbered close to 300!

In San Pedro, Calif., the infamous renegade "communist" police captain, Hynes, of the "red" squad, attacked longshoremen, resulting in the death and wounding of workers, as well as the arresting of scores of strikers.

Out in New Jersey, a "judge" granted an injunction against picketing of a factory belonging to an NRA administrator, where the NRA provisions were also ignored. Four workers who defied the injunction were sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

In New York City another "judge" issued an injunction that not only forbids picketing, but even employing any kind of means that might disclose the fact that there was a strike going on at the Dugan Bakeries!

A "judge" in the coal mines of Alabama decrees that the wage code granted to the miners is "unconstitutional." And to top it all, the Steel Trust goes to one of its courts in Delaware and obtains an injunction which declares "unconstitutional" the main section of the "magna charta" for the workers!

Thus the Show of Deceit, the NRA circus, began to demonstrate its real intended purpose: to perpetuate and to protect the present system of exploitation and rulership.

If the bloody experiences of the workers of this country were insufficient proofs that the NRA is but a circus of the present order, along comes the Darrow report and substantiates this in full. Backed by an array of indisputable facts, the Darrow report disclosed that all the NRA accomplished was to hand over the administration of the codes to the leading exploiters of the country, and all these did in turn was to accumulate vast profits for themselves while the masses languished (and still do) in unemployment and want. (According to the Standard Statistics Company, profits for the first year under the New Deal jumped from \$69,000,000 in 1932 to \$558,000,000 in 1933.) The Darrow report closes with the naive statement that:

"To give sanction of government to sustain profits is not a planned economy, but a regimented organization for exploitation."

As if the institution of government ever served any other purpose but to perpetuate and to safeguard exploitation!

Furthermore, Mr. W. O. Thompson, a member of the Darrow Board, proved himself more consistent than Darrow himself, by resigning from it, declaring:

"NIRA clearly reflects its class character as an attempt of the capitalists to find a 'way out of the crisis' by passing the burdens on to the shoulders of the masses

and the farmers . . . Its development day by day clearly reveal more a marked trend toward fascism in the United States . . . The actual result of the NRA codes has been merely a continuation of the stagger system under which more workers are attached to the payroll but all are receiving wholly inadequate earnings . . . The minimum wages established under the codes have tended to become the maximum, thus dragging down the general average of all wages. Even these minimum wages have given no relief to Negroes or to many other categories of lower-paid workers . . . The NRA handed over to trade associations, dominated by the largest corporations in the various industries, the formulation of codes of fair competition without representation of the consumers or workers . . . Wherever A. F. of L. unions have been represented, as in the clothing industries, for example, the labor leaders have shown by their act, that their chief concern is in the interest of big business."

Are the workers learning anything from these costly, bloody lessons that they are called upon to pay—for every Show of Deceit that capitalism, through its Press Harlots, Radio, Movie Tools and Government, foisters upon them?

To judge by some of the most recent events, one can conclude that they do. The longshoremen strike on the Pacific Coast offers one of the most striking proofs to this effect. When the Lying Sheets of capitalism have to come forward with shrieking bold-face editorials on the front pages, calling for a peace settlement, it means something! This strike would have been over long ago, if the rank and file had listened to its misleaders and such renegades as the assistant secretary of labor, McGrady. No truer words were issued than the ones of Harry Bridges, striking stevedore, when he said:

"It's because it's a militant strike that we have been successful so far. They can call them radical tactics but whatever they are they work. You get nowhere at all with the good old legal tactics, all this reliance on arbitration, injunctions, letting the scabs work and so forth."

An even far truer and closer expression of the real feelings of the workers throughout the country towards the NRA is expressed in these excerpts from the letter sent to President Roosevelt on June 9th by the militant rank and file spokesmen of the steel industry:

"We understand you have left for a week-end cruise on the Sequoia. We wish we could join you. The proposal by the Iron and Steel Institute and General Johnson is an insult to every worker of this country. Millions of us reposed confidence in you and your administration, despite the doubts that have plagued us as a result of NRA's refusal to enforce the very plain words of Section 7a, guaranteeing us the right to organize and to bargain collec-

tively with our employers. We have lost the faith which we held in your administration, which promised justice and a new deal to the nation's workers. If the government will not help us then we must use the only means left to us."

At the conference in Pittsburgh, which followed, Mr. William Green appeared with an ultimatum that the steel workers must accept the very proposal which the above letter renounced as an insult to every worker in the country!

Now that the General on the battlefronts of capitalism's war stands exposed also as capitalism's open tool on the economic battlefield, we can foresee that the Greens, Hil-mans, Lewises, McGradys, Dubinskys, Ryans and Perkinses will be used to the utmost by the mountebank in the white house to stave off any imminent Rebellion by the workers of this country.

As long as the workers will allow themselves to be misled and to be cajoled by a Lying Daily Press, the Radio and Movies, an Hypocritical Politician in the white house, or any Labor Misleader, their interests will be betrayed again and again. When the workers realize that it is not a question of this section or that one, of any law that can ever aid them in achieving anything of genuine value, when they at last realize that every form of Government has been instituted and always was and will be used against them, when they finally comprehend that it is the entire present political and economic system of oppression and exploitation that must be fought and destroyed, that the workers who create everything are the sole ones entitled to what they create—when, AND ONLY WHEN, the workers begin to realize these truths, will they no longer be forced to pay in blood, misery, and suffering during the time of their lives here on earth.

Rebellion—Revolution means the possibility of more bloodshed. No doubt. It will, as always, be caused by the enemy of Liberty and Justice. For the Exploiters and Rulers of Life have never as yet surrendered anything willingly. Let no worker forget, though, that if anyone were ever to bring together the actual figures of how many workers have been murdered, crippled, and jailed in every strike that has taken place, the number would be such a huge and staggering one, that no one could ever imagine that the bloodiest revolution would prove any costlier. The Road to Compromise is an unending one of suffering, murdering, and maiming of workers. The Road of Rebellion, a Social Revolution, holds out the hope for the dawn of a day wherein every human being shall be able to create and to live in joy and fellowship with each other.

Anarchists' Ordeal In Russia

A Protest Against The GHEPEU

It is now ten years since the anarchist groups have been definitely suppressed in the U. S. S. R. It is therefore long since that the masks, which the Bolsheviks deemed necessary to use in the early years of the Revolution, have fallen. As long as the Anarchists could be utilized as the vanguard to be sacrificed, as "koulis" of the Revolution, they were shown a certain amount of toleration and were treated as "comrades." But no sooner was the war against foreign and domestic counter-revolution over, no sooner faded the reasons for a political front that the teeth of the State faddists were turned on the anti-authoritarians.

The freedom of the press for us has been completely banished, our ideal has been strangled and its propagation through the press made impossible, while all of the old anarchist publications have been suppressed. Our comrades are arrested and thrown into the "political isolators" without the least semblance of trial and are also exiled by the hundreds. Often they are summarily executed. Women, old men, youngsters are continuously dislodged from places previously assigned by the government and subjected to endless harassings. Thousands of human beings are thus forced to migrate indefinitely through the immense country until they recline over the grave in some infested area.

It is useless to insist on facts that are now known to all, like he Boutyrki prison and Verke-Uralsk massacre or the shooting at the Solovsk Islands. Hunger strikes in the prisons have become simple, every-day news items like in the gloomiest days of the czar.

And how many such facts remain unknown?

The verdicts of the "Ghepeu" are merely jesuitic lies. In

one way or another the terms of exile are always prolonged. The so-called "political isolator" means in the least nine years of suffering in the "Ghepeu" prisons with privations of all kinds and physical and moral tortures, in short, a slow, systematic form of assassination which doesn't leave any visible traces on the victim's bodies. And through the crafty process of this suppression the Anarchists are branded as criminals, prostitutes and "sabotagers."

Those who are freed on conditions are forced to present everywhere their papers as "outlaws" and thus be exposed to all sorts of persecution by any upstart that they come across and to a slow but sure "lynching."

The exiles and those subject to limitation of sojourn are also arbitrarily deprived of the opportunity to work. If sometime they are permitted to work it is only out of pity. Being ourselves unemployed we constitute an evident proof of this existing condition. The "black lists" containing the names of those condemned to the "dry guillotine" are the symbols of the whole system.

Our comrade Nicholas Rogdaieff, who fought for the Russian Revolution and was active in almost every European revolutionary movement, exhausted from imprisonment, exile, sickness and moral and physical tortures as well, was found dead in a street named, by a mocking coincidence, Sacco-Vanzetti. A good many of our comrades—the old ones especially, are bound to meet the same fate.

But we cannot wait in silence for our turn.

We refuse to submit to the restrictions of sojourn imposed on us. And when we'll be arrested we will protest against the assassination of Rogdaieff and the persecution of all Anarchists as well, with a five days hunger strike. And we will continue the strike until they set us free, willing to face

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Hitlerism and the Belief in Progress

Dr. J. Globus

Until recently we have all believed in Progress as something inevitable, spontaneous, something not really dependent on our exertions. We believed that there is, possibly in the cosmos itself, but surely in our small corner of it, in the human world, some Force or Tendency, or Efficient Cause, that makes the world go forward or upward. With or without our conscious cooperation, the world of man elevates itself, improves and perfects itself. The doctrine of Progress has become a dogma, an article of faith accepted and shared both by the man in the street and the ordinary thinker.

But what is this mysterious force or tendency? What is its nature, origin, or cause? We have no clear answer to this question. The theologians explain progress by the will of God, Hegel by the "dialectic unfolding of the absolute idea." Philosophers of history, who keep closer to earth, rely on one of the many theories of evolution: Spencer's well-known hypothesis or the biologic theories of evolution of Lamarck and Darwin or the somewhat mystic hypothesis of Henry Bergson with its romantic Elan Vitale.

But though there is no agreement as to the causes of progress its reality was not doubted until recently by anyone. We did not know exactly what it was, but we knew it was there, a law of nature, ingrained in the very texture of the universe. Eternal, self-propelling progress, so we thought, does not depend on our will and cooperation and can get along almost entirely without our aid. Or to be more exact, our aid is necessary, but we do not have to worry about it, as it is assured by the pressure on us of external forces inherent in the cosmos.

In the long run, so many believed everything is good in this best of all possible worlds. This most comforting belief suddenly received an extremely rude shock in 1914, and continued receiving a great many more shocks ever since. The use of Fascism in many countries did not at all fit in the optimistic belief of continued and inevitable progress. Particularly Italian Fascism was so reactionary, such a decisive step backward, that in the minds of the thinking the suspicion grew strong that Progress, inevitable and spontaneous, was perhaps merely a pious wish, an illusion, a dogma, unsupported by real evidence.

But it was left to the unspeakable Adolph Hitler to deliver the hardest and heaviest blow to our optimists. For somehow Mussolini's Fascism, bad as it was, did not impress everyone as something utterly and hopelessly reactionary. With all his feudalistic leanings and mean brutality, Mussolini does not appear to be a man who has severed absolutely all ties with the traditions of a "Good European." Mussolini is a base renegade, a demagogue and a tyrant, yet he retains some faint traces of culture, shows some signs of ability to reason rationally, and in his chauvinism he does not descend to such abysmal depths of bestiality as his German disciple.*

That the Nazi brand of reaction is pitch black without a single bright point in it cannot be questioned by the most indulgent and objective observers. Its economic and political programs, its foreign policies, its social and cultural ideals are all equally and astonishingly reactionary. It is almost unbelievable to witness such a rejection of all the social and political achievements of the western world since the French Revolution, such a severing of all ties with what we call the Modern Spirit. A destruction of values on so large a scale and in so short a time has probably never occurred in all history.

Now, should the triumph of Hitlerism prove to be lasting, who can deny that it would be a staggering blow to the idea of a self-starting and self-propelling forward movement of humanity? A great intellectual confusion would ensue, there would have to take place a reevaluation of many values. Many theories connected with the concept of Progress would have to be revised, not only the exploded hypothesis of Spencer—the development from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous—but even such a well founded and realistic theory as the most popular historical theory of today, the Materialist Interpretation of History, or Historic Materialism, as it is also called.

It would be, of course, a gross exaggeration to say that the celebrated doctrine of Karl Marx has been completely demolished by the Hitler denouement. With a certain amount of straining, it can produce many plausible explanations for an occurrence that it had failed so utterly to foresee and predict. The revolt of the lower middle class, the desire of large capital to smash the labor movement, the bourgeois fear of the coming revolution, the demoralization of the masses by the depression, the growth of the spirit of imperialism and chauvinism as a result of increasing international competition, etc., etc. All these are excellent alibis, but there are somewhat too many of them, which is, to say the least, a little suspicious.

Besides, even if we grant their validity, in what way do

*—To draw comparisons is indeed a dangerous task. Time and place play an important part with most of us. Very often we are wont to forget past events, and are therefore more aroused by the fresh ones. Whenever Mussolini was faced with a threatening opposition he didn't stop at wanton murder, just as much, only much more shrewder than the illiterate Hitler. The murder of Matteotti (at that time Socialist Deputy) proved this. To an audience heralded in the press, that Mussolini gave to Matteotti's wife, he assured her that no one was more sorry for Matteotti's disappearance than he was, and that no stone will be left unturned to give her back her husband safe and alive. And whilst this debased intellectual monster was performing the just described diabolical scene, he was already fully aware of the foul murdering of Matteotti that he himself had conceived and ordered carried out by his henchmen!

If the victims of Mussolini have not risen to the immense number as that of Hitler, it's simply because he found no need for it, and certainly not for his intellectual scruples.

Tyrants are all alike—no matter what flag they sail under, or whatever mental force leads them on. This is the record of all past history.—EDITOR.

they disprove the claims that economic evolution, the idol and the hope of the Marxists, may not always be a progressive force? Do not the late events in Germany, where, according to the Marxist's own admission, economic conditions have brought about the victory of Hitlerism, plainly indicate that economic evolution and progress are not at all a sort of Siamese twins, that in fact their roads may easily part and that under certain circumstances they may even become hostile to each other?

Already for some time the vague feeling was growing that economic evolution left to itself, not interfered with, aided or controlled by us, striking, thinking and willing human beings, may not at all lead us into the land flowing with milk and honey, but may instead precipitate us into a gloomy desert, lacking entirely both milk and honey. Ghent, Dr. I. Hourwich, Simkhowich and others pointed out long ago that the theory of the Materialist Conception of History, may not at all prove to be the great friend and ally of Socialism that it is supposed to be. Economic evolution instead of destroying may instead preserve some form of capitalism, perhaps state capitalism, or lead us into some form of benevolent Feudalism, or even of Malignant Feudalism.

Socialism may even bitterly regret some day its close affiliation with Historic Materialism.

The optimistic theory that economic evolution must inevitably lead us, without too strenuous exertions on our part into the Promised Land, has been one of the chief causes of the rapid growth of the Socialist movement in Germany (or elsewhere), but there are good reasons to believe it is also largely responsible for its rapid deterioration and finally for its sudden collapse. For this comfortable, too comfortable, belief led to the weakening and decay of idealism, initiative, creativeness and militancy so necessary to a revolutionary movement. Why exert oneself, why devise daring plans, why make great sacrifices, risk liberty and life, when Economic Evolution, the Inscrutable and All-Powerful, Beneficent Force that is outside of us and is independent of us, will do all the dirty and hard work for us? Why not rest pleasantly and await quietly and patiently the inevitable happy result?

The Marxian philosophy of history, at least as it was interpreted by its most orthodox apostles, has become a quietist philosophy, putting its faithful zealots to sleep. Marxism, particularly the German brand, which claims to be the genuine—guaranteed, take no substitutes!—has become alarmingly akin to Buddhism. Like the true believers in the Gospel of Nirvana, they took the cruel beating that the Nazis handed out to them meekly, with lowered heads, without striking back once.

It is interesting that in this matter of relying on external forces there is a close kinship between Liberals and Socialists, that usually denounce each other so fiercely. Both ask us to rely chiefly on Progress, the Liberals on intellectual or Moral Progress, the Marxists on Material. Both caution us against haste and ask us to have a little patience; all's really well with the world, at least in the long run, since the stars in heaven are on our side and fight our battles.

Now both Liberals and orthodox Marxists are rubbing their eyes in some surprise. Particularly the German Social Democrats have not yet got over their astonishment at the strange and unexpected pranks of the Historic Process, that well beloved process, the course of which they knew so well—did not Marx give them a reliable map of it?

It is not pleasant to be forced to revise one's pet theories—but it begins to look as if it will have to be done. The concept of progress as something spontaneous or automatic, as a free gift from the gods, will have to be given up.

There is of course, such a phenomenon as progress, but is not spontaneous, nor automatic, neither is it continuous and inevitable. Least of all is it a gift from above. Whatever progress there is depends on us, on us thinking, willing, fighting human beings, that consciously work for ideals which we ourselves originate—though not of whole cloth, but of conditions found at hand—and thus force the world to go forward to greater heights.

Facts and Comments

Angelo Herndon, a communist, must serve from eighteen to twenty years imprisonment. His "crimes" are manifold. He had the misfortune in having been born a negro and, as such, to enter the "peach" state of the country, Georgia, and dare to propagate his ideas. Originally convicted under a "sedition" law passed before the abolition of slavery, the Georgia Supreme Court upheld the sentence and ruled that the term was not one of approbrium. (May 23, 1934.)

The action of the courts of injustice in the infamous state of flogging of prisoners and chain gangs, can not cause any surprise to the oppressed and ruled masses. As long as the latter silently accept such outrageous insults heaped upon its most valiant fighters, no change for the better can be expected. Direct revolutionary action is the only answer that all rulers and tyrants have ever payed any attention to. It is high time that the workers should realize this.

"Chicago, Ill., May 27 A. P.—David Dubinsky, president of the International Garment Workers Union, stated today, upon his arrival for the biennial convention:

"The NRA has helped a great deal in our increase in members. It has aided in organizing the unorganized shops."

Scheduled speakers include Francis Perkins, Secretary of Labor, General Hugh Johnson, and William Green."

At the National Conference of Social Work held at Kansas City, Miss Mary Van Kleeck, who resigned last year from an NRA committee in protest against its rulings against workers, stated on May 24th that the "net effect (of the NRA) upon the workers' struggle for security has been to raise hopes, followed by bitter disappointment."

What a strange paradox! A social worker revealing either a better understanding or more sincerity in evaluating the NRA scheme than Mr. Dubinsky, the Socialist president of the International Garment Workers Union.

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This is the lesson that the victory of unspeakable Hitlerism and Fascism of all shades teaches us. We must not rely on blind, external forces, no matter how favorable they may appear. Our chief reliance must be on ourselves, on the quality of our values and on the strength of our devotion to them, on our revolutionary initiative, enterprise, creativeness. We must not rely too much on the "immanent evolution of the forces of production" or on any other force to do the work for us, though, of course, we must not go to the other extreme of ignoring them and neglecting to make full use of them. Certain conditions may be a relatively favorable environment for the success of our enterprise, but in the end there is no one on whose shoulders we can unburden our load. Our burden must be carried by each and all of us, and our task must be performed by no one else but ourselves.

The Anarchists in Russia

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extreme consequences, if necessary.

They can overpower us with their might of arms, but there will come a day when the Anarchist ideal will make all authorities crumble together with their arms.

Until when will the Anarchists continue to be persecuted? We protest.

ZORA GANDLEVSKA
ANDREA ANDREIEFF

Moscow, Feb. 14, 1934.

E. N.—Further news, reaching us, reveal that these two courageous comrades have carried out their plans and that the Bolshevik authorities have transferred them to Astrakan, where after 18 days of hunger strike, artificial feeding was forcibly applied to them.

An Urgent Call

We have just received—unfortunately much delayed—some news from Soviet Russia of a most disquieting nature.

We are informed on reliable authority that a number of our comrades serving exile terms in Kursk and Voronezh have been arrested under very mysterious circumstances. We learn from our correspondent that the Bolshevik Government is apparently planning to stage a "counter-revolutionary sabotage" trial, and that they have picked our arrested comrades as their victims.

Among the arrested comrades is A. BARON, one of the best known Anarchists in Russia, who has been frequently mentioned in our Bulletins. He has for many years been a special target for persecution by the Bolsheviks, has been imprisoned in various polit-isolators, subjected to G. P. U. inquisition on many occasions, exiled and ordered from place to place. Of late he has been working as an economist, but suddenly he was seized and arrested with such secrecy that even his wife does not know what has become of him. There is no question but that the Bolsheviks are looking for some pretext to "liquidate" our dear and devoted comrade. His life is in danger.

Another of the arrested is M. ROUVINSKY, who was employed as a technician in Kursk. Like A. Baron he was seized suddenly and without any explanation, and taken to Voronezh together with a number of other comrades. We are informed that Comrade ROUVINSKY declared a hunger strike in protest. Our comrade suffers from heart disease and his continued imprisonment menaces him with death.

We mention but these two names of the arrested comrades, without going into further details, because the cases are most urgent and we must hasten to send this appeal out as quickly as possible. Later on we shall supply more information about the matter. Meanwhile we appeal to all friends and comrades to lose no time and start a wide protest immediately. It is a matter of life or death for our arrested comrades, and quick action is urgent at once.

We call upon the radical and revolutionary labor press to help save our comrades from the Bolshevik executioners. Give the greatest publicity to this case and rouse the workers in every country to voice their protest against the planned murder of our martyred comrades!

Cables and telegrams of protest should be sent at once to the official representatives of Soviet Russia, to its ambassadors, consuls and commercial agents in every country in Europe and America. Such cables and telegrams should be forwarded by every labor organization and revolutionary body, as well as by liberal groups and individuals.

Similar protests should also be sent DIRECTLY to the Bolshevik Government in Moscow and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in U. S. S. R.

Lose no time, friends and comrades! Help us save the victims of the G. P. U. executioners!

THE RELIEF FUND OF THE I. W. M. A.
TO AID THE ANARCHISTS AND AN-
ARCHO-SYNDICALISTS IMPRISONED
AND EXILED IN RUSSIA.

PARIS, April, 1934.

Alfonso Petrini

Comrade Petrini, who fled to Russia from Italy to avoid serving a twenty year prison sentence imposed upon him by the fascist government, is almost dying of tuberculosis in Astrakan.

He was kept incommunicado by the bolshevik Ghepeu for three years and for the last four years has been isolated in the aforesaid province.

In his last appeal to the comrades of the world, Petrini makes it known that he has sent another request to the bolshevik rulers asking that he be allowed to leave the country or publicly be tried for whatever charge the Russian authorities might claim to have against him. To him the fascist dungeons would be preferable to the devastating and killing climate of Astrakan.

At whatever Communist gathering, comrades and conscientious Communist workers as well should protest Petrini's unwarranted detention and demand he be allowed to leave Russia for a milder and more hospitable country.

SOCIAL REBELLION MOUNTS THE SCENE

(Press Dispatches from the Daily Press)

Rio de Janeiro, March 3.—Against the proposed labor provisions of the newly-drafted constitution, a large workers' demonstration paraded the streets as a forerunner to nationwide protests. The thousands of workers massed outside the Assembly's meeting place presented demands which included:

A month's vacation with pay each year and the payment of one month's salary to every worker wrongfully discharged. Prohibition of child labor and of discrimination against women as regards wages. Accident, old-age, and unemployment insurance and maternity protection.

The original draft of the new constitution embodied most of these demands but were later deleted. Fifteen out of the 26 members of the drafting committee are said to have refused to sign the deleted draft.

Harbin, Manchuria, March 11.—A Japanese infantry regiment that has been slaughtering the peasants of the lower Sungari area, met with a sudden uprising of the peasants, resulting in the death of their Colonel Iizuka, and ten officers who are missing.

Madrid, March 27.—Two village churches were set on fire in northern Spain.

Rome, March 30.—Officials of Mussolini's regime admitted the rumors of having arrested fifteen persons, including two women, on the charge of having circulated "libelous leaflets," (meaning, of course, criticism of the Duce's doings). The arrested are mostly young people, two of them sons of university professors.

Vienna, April 2.—In the woods near Leoben, there has been found the body of a railroad man who had betrayed the Mayor of Bruck, Koloman Wallich, to the Heimwehr, who was one of the Fighting Socialists brutally executed by Dollfuss' henchmen in February of this year. Recently the body of Johann Fuchs was found floating in the river Mur at Graz. He had "volunteered" to hang the Socialist Stanek. The same night he was stoned, pelted with beer mugs by workmen. His dead body revealed bullet holes in his skull. On March 5 two Heimwehr men were found shot to death near Graz. Near the bodies was a large sheet of paper inscribed "Revenge for Stanek's Murder."

Vienna, April 3.—Three Socialist prisoners and two Nazis made a sensational escape from the Lintz prison. The chief warden, Dobler, left with them. Waiting machines carried the Socialists to Czechoslovakia and the Nazis to Germany. Bernaschek, one of the Socialist prisoners, faced a heavy sentence as the commander of the Republican Defense Corps of Lintz. It was Bernaschek who, when the party headquarters at Vienna wrote him to restrain his men, replied: "The party headquarters can say what it likes, but we refuse to let our arms be taken from us. We know this will be attempted and we shall resist."

Havana, April 4.—A policeman and two soldiers were injured when a bomb exploded in a manhole of the Cuban Telephone Company. The first explosion blew off the cover and destroyed the telephone and electric cables as well as nearby gas mains. Soldiers and police then approached the spot, when a second blast occurred, igniting escaped gas and severely burning the three men. Dynamiting of these telephone manholes continues daily throughout Havana. As fast as the cables are repaired they are destroyed by strikers, so that these services are continually interrupted.

Madrid, April 6.—When Salvador de Madariaga, minister of education in Spain, refused to meet a delegation of 250 professors demanding pay due to them since November, the latter proceeded to break windows and wreck furniture. Guards ejected the protestors and arrested several of them.

Havana, April 7.—Occupants of an automobile fired on a group of soldiers doing their usual work against strikers. Another direct action act was the explosion of a bomb on property where a strike is on. The many attacks upon the soldiers are believed by authorities to be the work of a terrorist group.

Havana, April 9.—A bomb found on a street by a policeman was taken to the military post. When it was placed in a tank of water it exploded, killing Bernal Figueredo, a soldier, and injuring a lieutenant, a sergeant and a private.

Vienna, April 11.—Edward Koerbel, who more than any other person, was responsible for the Socialist defeat against the Heimwehr in February, was found dead from stabbed wounds. It was he who had betrayed to the Heimwehr several days before February 12, when the Vienna fighting began, some of the Socialist plans for resisting a Fascist coup. Last night four men having apparently authentic passes called for Koerbel and told him they would take him to police headquarters so he could give further evidence against his former Socialist comrades. Koerbel readily went, but when the car reached the outskirts of Vienna his escorts drew daggers and stabbed him to death. He was the tenth man slain in vengeance for the slaughter of workers by the Dollfuss regime.

Pottsville, Pa., April 12.—Taxpaying miners, numbering upwards of one thousand, became tired asking courts to reduce their taxes as those of the coal companies were lowered. They descended upon the court house, broke the new furniture of the tax commissioner's office, dragged commissioners William O. Adamson and Roy E. Brownmiller to a court room upstairs, flung them into chairs, and told what was wanted of them and why. The officials thereupon agreed to rehear protested tri-annual real estate tax assessments at public sessions. State troopers arrived to attack the protesters, only too late, since the commissioners had already capitulated.

When The People Act

Most of the social movements striving for the overthrow of the present order always want to place the utmost importance upon the need of PREPARED and ORGANIZED revolutions.

As Anarchists we hold forth the very opposite view, contending that the only social rebellions that prove of any significant value in effecting changes for achieving more liberty and justice are those that come about SPONTANEOUSLY. The history of mankind bears this out in full. Furthermore, the Anarchist can point at all those PLANNED and ORGANIZED rebellions—always ending in the very opposite direction of their intended purposes, and in the end proving a hindrance to any of the contemplated social changes set out to achieve.

It is in the spirit of the Anarchist understanding of spontaneous rebellion that we think the press cable items given on this page (especially these pertaining to the struggle in Cuba) very strikingly substantiate this position.

Havana, April 14.—A demonstration held today in Central Park disclosed the fact that thousands of workers are languishing in the jails throughout Cuba, charged with violating the decree outlawing strikes. Many have gone on hunger strikes. Many have been imprisoned already for more than a month without a hearing. Four bombs exploded early today in Havana. Chief of the army, Batista, received a bomb enclosed in a package of toys. Students held a demonstration this afternoon against the arrests of students by military authorities. The police opened an attack upon the students. The latter defended themselves with baseball bats. Many students were wounded, one girl and one policeman seriously.

Havana, April 16.—A half-hour general strike, followed by numerous demonstrations of students and workers against the imprisonment and mistreatment of students and workers, wound up before the presidential palace. Shouting denunciations of President Mendieta, Colonel Batista, Chief of Staff, and Jefferson Caffery, U. S. Ambassador, they demanded immediate liberation of those who have been imprisoned. No one was injured—since neither the soldiers nor police started any attacks.

Havana, April 18.—A bomb, the second in the past month, exploded in the Central Post Office, wounding two men. A policeman was shot and wounded as he attempted to arrest men who are said to have been planting a bomb. The telephone strike, on since last February, has caused great inconvenience over the entire island and has resulted in the loss of thousands of dollars worth of property through sabotage.

Vienna, April 21.—Frau Pauline Wallich, widow of the hanged Socialist, was sentenced to one year imprisonment for having aided activities of the Socialist forces. Frau Ferner, wife of another Socialist leader, was likewise sentenced to a year hard labor—for the "crime" of having supplied food and cigarettes to the fighting workers.

Havana, April 22.—Six bombs were exploded last night and early this morning, killing one man, wounding three, and causing large property damage. Two of the leading officials were recipients of bombs.

Sioux City, Iowa, May 5.—Three policemen and a score of workers were wounded when the latter attempted to force the release of Wilfred Lakers, communist leader. Seven workers were arrested.

Havana, May 5.—Police attacked a student demonstration at Central Park, severely clubbing two students and Angel Gutierrez, a Cuban reporter, and a Cuban photographer. Three American newspapermen and photographers were arrested and their films of the demonstration destroyed. One of these showed the statute of Marti blindfolded with black cloth.

Havana, May 7.—A group of strikers at an American-owned packing house shot upon scabs, wounding two.

Calcutta, May 8.—Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal, escaped death or injury when four Bengalis fired at him while he was attending the races at Darjeeling. Two previous attempts upon his life also failed.

Berlin, May 11.—Frau Olga Seegbrecht, wife of a retired professor, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment for having said to a block captain "one-dish Sunday" collector: "I wouldn't give a pfening to this worker's State! Those are not workers; they are blackmailers!"

Wichita, Kansas, May 14.—After having crushed last Wednesday's C. W. A. strike of starving workers by clubs, guns, and tear gas bombs, the National guardsmen left the city. Left behind were eleven workers sentenced from thirty days to ninety days imprisonment and many wounded workers. The police didn't fare so well either. Police Lieut. C. D. Murrell got a stab wound near the lungs, officer J. W. Whitney was knocked unconscious by an iron bar, J. R. Klepper, another officer, went to a hospital with a skull fracture, Fire Lieut. Ray Ford also went to the hospital when a brick hit one of his eyes, and 400 feet of fire hose was cut by the unemployed when the hose pressure was turned on them. All this took place on May 7th. The next afternoon a mass meeting of 1,000 was begun outside the city limits. The militia with gas bombs broke up the meeting.

Toledo, Ohio, May 24.—Two workers were slain and scores injured when Ohio National Guardsmen attacked strikers at the Electric Auto-Lite plant. The strikers fought back with bricks and whatever they could lay their hands on. Gen.

Frank D. Henderson was the one responsible for ordering the attack upon the workers. Twenty-two workers were arrested.

Vienna, May 26.—For the first time since February Socialists in all the suburbs gathered in the streets under the red banner and protested against the extension of martial law. Riot squads rushed from all sides and forced the demonstrators to disband, arresting about fifty.

Havana, May 26.—The guard at the U. S. Embassy has been augmented. Persistent reports ran through the city a few days ago concerning an attack on Ambassador Caffery. Extreme radical terroristic groups are credited with a bombing campaign now being waged nightly, taking this means to express disapproval of what they term "American interference in Cuban affairs."

Paris, May 27.—On the eve of the dedication of a monument in Pere Lachaise cemetery to Italian soldiers who died in the last world slaughter, a bomb exploded. Authorities take it as an act against Mussolini's reign in Italy.

Lisbon, Portugal, May 27.—Upon arriving at the railway station to greet the Green Shirt Fascist organization, Major Ferreira Gill, assistant commander of the Lisbon police, was wounded by three bullets fired by an unidentified man.

Havana, May 27.—A speeding automobile fired at U. S. Ambassador Jefferson Caffery as he was preparing to leave his house on his way to church. A soldier on guard was wounded. The Ambassador commented: "I don't believe there was a plot against my life, but the recent rumors might have put ideas into somebody's head."

Havana, May 28.—Four Cuban terrorists attacked the automobile of H. Freeman Mathews, First Secretary of the U. S. Embassy warning the chauffeur that he and Mr. Mathews must leave Cuba. Ambassador Caffery revealed this morning that about three weeks ago a speeding machine passed his house, and from it a dozen shots were fired. Two bombs exploded in various parts of the city. "A widespread anarchistic movement" against the U. S. Government is what John Barrett, former director of the Pan American Union and minister to several countries said, in commenting on the present situation in Cuba.

Havana, June 4.—Three persons were killed and two gravely wounded in Camaguey when a group of recently discharged employees fired on the aqueduct offices. . . . The military authorities intervened, as the assailants fled.

Havana, June 13.—In various downtown sections students smashed windows and tore down signs of A. B. C. posters. Two persons were wounded by a bomb explosion at the home of Police Lieutenant Manuel Lama.

Havana, June 15.—An attempt upon the life of President Mendieta by a bomb resulted in the death of one sailor and eleven gravely hurt, Mendieta received a cut in the left hand. He immediately signed the death penalty or life imprisonment law to be invoked against the rebels. The American Omaha fleet is proceeding at once, evidently to save the tottering regime that American capitalism and its government has put up in Cuba.

Havana, June 17.—Fourteen persons were killed and more than sixty were wounded this afternoon when a parade of 80,000 members of the A. B. C. (Mendieta-supporting org.) was attacked by rebels against the present regime.

An Urgent Appeal From Cuba

The letter that follows, from our comrades in Cuba, ought not to be let go by unnoticed. It is a most heroic battle that the workers of Cuba have been putting up against the American and foreign imperialists who control the well being and life of the Cuban people. No one that is in a position to aid should fail to do so. Funds addressed to MAN! will be re-forwarded to our comrades in Cuba.

Havana, May 12th, 1934.

Appreciated Comrade:

Health! We are in receipt of, by means of the Relation Committee of the Federation of Anarchist Groups of Cuba, the amount of five dollars (\$5.00) that you sent from an affair held at Chicago, and sent to you for re-forwarding to us.

By the reason of the barbarious repression of the reactionary government of Mendieta, and with the common consent of all the fascist elements and militarists, the most ferocious dictatorship ever imposed upon a people to suffer by has been established. It is therefore necessary and urgent that we receive all the solidarity that you can lend us, because the number of comrades in the jails is increasing from day to day.

We are for Anarchy.

(Signature of Financial Secretary.)

The agitator must stand outside of organization, with no bid to earn, no candidate to elect, no party to save, no object but the truth, to tear a question open and riddle it with light.
—Wendel Phillips.

A Talk Between Two Workers

By Errico Malatesta

One of the most renowned works of Malatesta, for a long time out of print, has just been published in a beautiful pamphlet-form edition, 32 pages.

Single Copies 10 Cents

IN RETROSPECT

The Crimes of Present Society

When Frank Bennett, an unemployed mechanic of Alameda, Calif., sat down in his automobile on May 10, to throw the switch on the explosives that would have ended his life, the Daily Liars dubbed him at once—The Madman. And the zenith of prostituting one's pen came from the editorial scribbler of the "liberal" San Francisco "News" of June 1st, when, after attempting to hide the real background of the case, he stated:

"Frank Bennett wanted a job. He wanted a chance to support himself and his family. A sanity test will determine if he could hold a job."

Frank Bennett was one of the millions of unemployed. He had done "service" in the last world slaughter to make this world "safe" for the plutocrats and rulers to plunder and to reign undisturbed. His wife had just returned from the county hospital. The children lacked food and clothing. Tired of life and the unbearable situation facing him, he determined to end it all. The police used a clever ruse—promising him a job and \$2000. Bennett answered:

"I used to be a policeman myself and I know you are not telling the truth."

But just the same the ruse worked. Bennett was taken out of his machine and instead of being granted the promises, he was cast into an insane hospital for observation as to his sanity! Subsequently he was declared "sane" and now faces a series of "criminal" charges that will send him away for years to prison. Thus the present system, under its "New Deal," copes with the needy millions of workers!

Bennett's wife Eula, when interviewed, stated:

"He is not shell shocked; he's depression shocked, and that is worse. No one needs to be insane to be despairing in such conditions. In fact, I do not blame him in the least."

No greater insult and crime could be conceived upon the millions of unemployed, suffering in degradation, want and misery, than the already meted out and contemplated punishment of Frank Bennett. A society that is responsible for such tragedies as the Frank Bennett one has no right to exist. And the sooner the millions of Bennetts realize this, that much sooner will their plight and misery come to an end. Instead of futile attempts to end life, they had better come forth in an open Rebellion for the Right to Life, Plentitude, and Happiness.

A Disciple of Mussolini

When Anthony Fierro was murdered at the Fascist meeting held at Columbia Hall, on July 14, 1933, the would-be American Mussolini, Art J. Smith, of Khaki Shirt infamy, pointed at Athos Terzani, known anti-fascist, as the one who shot at Fierro. The "law and order brigade" of this country was most willing to aid in the staging and enactment of another Sacco and Vanzetti judicial murder.

But the gods of fate were kinder to Terzani than they proved themselves to be to Sacco and Vanzetti. The person who really shot at and killed Anthony Fierro, Frank Moffer, a misguided Khaki Shirt follower, came forward and confessed his guilt. Under such circumstances, Terzani had to be freed. And in order to save its face, the "law and order brigade" brought the leader of the American fascists, Art J. Smith, to trial as a perjurer, for his testimony upon which Terzani would have been legally murdered.

Art J. Smith was found guilty as a perjurer and sentenced on April 27 to 3 to 6 years' imprisonment. Thus came to an end the career of one of the first disciples and imitators of Benito Mussolini in this country. If it were possible to examine the "records" of all the leaders of the many now existing fascist organizations in America, these could no doubt yield enough proofs to place nearly every one of these "gentlemen" savours behind the bars, alongside of Art J. Smith, the erstwhile pioneer leader.

The Socialist Party and War

The Socialist Party of this country has very few laurels with which to parade. True, it has the courageous stand of Debs in war time and its official party position was against war. In reality, though, some of its most shining lights at that time—John Spargo, Charles Edward Russell, William English Walling, and many others joined with Wilson's crew to make this country safe for the capitalists.

During the last few years the Socialist Party served as an haven for religious-pacifists of the Norman Thomas type. These latter found themselves amidst a party dominated by shrewd and "moderate" men who held on to good paying positions in whatever labor union they were most active. They, the pacifist-religionists, were taunted again and again by the Bolshevik followers. Thomas, the real representative spokesman of the first named, felt this sting very often, and even had the audacity to side with the latter on a few occasions.

At the recent national convention this ever-growing pacifist group asserted itself in the open. The college element attracted of late by the pacifist one joined with Thomas in open revolt. After much wrangling the revolvers proved victorious for the time being. Their platform

was adopted amidst a denunciation of it being "anarchistic" and "illegal" by Louis Waldman. The victors were scared into making themselves a motion to place their accepted document before a group of lawyer-doctors who will have to decree as to whether the new child is legal, or, heaven forbid, illegal.

The "anarchistic" part of the document is the paragraph which reads:

"They (the Socialist Party) will loyally support, in the tragic event of war, any of their comrades who for anti-war activities or refusal to perform war service, come into conflict with public opinion or the law . . . They will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government, by massed war resistance, organized so far as practicable in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups . . ."

Those who follow closely the activities of the Socialist movement throughout the world need not be told as to what the Socialist movements in various countries have done in the last world-slaughter. The capitalistic governments openly admitted that without the elected Socialist representatives in the parliaments, the carrying on of the war would have been impossible.

A resolution on paper as to what one will or ought to do at a certain given moment is of no consequence. It is what one thinks and does of his own volition at a critical moment that makes history for better or for worse. Whether the lawyers, and afterwards a "majority," decrees that the platform of the Socialist Party is legal or illegal, matters very little.

What is needed to hope and to depend on—is propaganda of the widest sort—that everything that happened yesterday, will happen today or tomorrow—depends on each and all of us alike as to the kind of a future that is in store for us.

The Casas Vieja Massacre in Court

Manuel Rojas, the former captain who led the detachment that perpetrated the massacre of our comrades on Jan. 11, 1934, was found guilty and sentenced to 21 years' imprisonment. The prosecuting attorney accused him also of gathering 13 other known revolutionists from every part of the town and cold-bloodedly killing each of them himself.

In his defense, Rojas succeeded in establishing the fact that the police director, Menendez, of the former Azana Government, told him to "BRING BACK NEITHER PRISONERS NOR WOUNDED." Menendez denied the charge. But Bartolomeo Barbo, who was general staff captain when Azano was war minister, admitted having been aware of the drastic instruction received by Captain Rojas.

Thus it can easily be seen that the present rulers of Spain simply made a scape-goat of the debased tool, Rojas. Had they really been anxious to bring to justice the guilty culprits, Senor Azano and many Socialists, who were officials of the then Liberal-Socialist coalition government, would be the ones to be tried as the really responsible assassins of our martyred comrades.

The Casas Vieja Massacre has already become the Paris Commune episode of Spain. Not, though, at the hands of a reactionary Thiers, but at the hands of Liberals and Socialists alike. The workers will not forget this.

The sentencing of Rojas, the falling of the Azana regime—all this is not enough. The law has never proved itself as the last word in the matter of Social Justice—or Justice in general. It is the people themselves who in the end can and shall yet render Justice to such as Azana. When that day arrives, the Liberal and Socialist politicians of the Azana brand will disappear together with the system they espouse and represent.

The "Proletarian State" is Willing

In the December issue of "Man!" I wrote about the Economic Peace Conference:

"Thus Litvinoff made open acknowledgment of the fact that the Bolshevik government is willing to aid capitalism throughout the world to maintain its system of exploitation."

The same Maxim Litvinoff, Commissar for Foreign Affairs of Russia, has recently delivered another message. He addressed again all the leading representatives of capitalism's governments throughout the world, via the World Disarmament Conference held at Geneva. Said Litvinoff:

"I propose . . . the transformation of this conference into a permanent body concerned to preserve by every possible means the security of all states and to safeguard universal peace."

While Litvinoff may be able to fool the naive followers of bolshevism with such sugar-coated words, that in reality smack of the rankest sort of treachery to the real interests of the oppressed in every part of the world, he didn't fool the well informed correspondent of the New York Times, Frederick T. Birchall, who commented as follows in the Times of June 10th:

"In all the recent moves on the diplomatic chessboard the most successful player has been one Maxim Litvinoff . . . It is a race that many times has left its impress upon diplomacy and particularly Russian diplomacy. M. Litvinoff is an eminently worthy successor of its greatest diplomatic representatives . . . the subtle and resourceful Russian diplomats who, under another regime, preceded him."

Mr. Birchall was commenting, not only on the declaration of Litvinoff alone, but likewise on his "diplomatic" maneuver whereby he signed a secret pact with the Little Entente, comprising Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. In the "bargain" went Bessarabia, back under the reign of Roumania's financiers, that the r-r-revolutionary Bolshevik State swore never to surrender!

To complete some more "achievements" for the world revolution, "comrade" Litvinoff stopped off at Berlin to call upon Baron Constantin von Neurath, his counterpart in Hitler's foreign affairs, and (reports the N. Y. Times of June 13th) "presented him the outlines of the mutual assistance pacts that he has been discussing in Geneva. M. Litvinoff briefly recounted their purpose and invited Germany to come in and join now."

With already achieved secret and open pacts by the present rulers over Russia with the "intellectual" butcher

Mussolini of Italy, the illiterate murder-madman Hitler of Germany, the diminutive Killer Dollfuss of Austria, in fact, with every oppressive, reigning tyrant of the globe, the Bolshevik supporters may well be proud.

But, if capitalism and Russia imagine themselves safeguarded by its pacts they are equally doomed to an already noticeable disappointment.

The failure of Mussolini's regime is already being spoken of openly in such a conservative magazine as Current History for May.

Hitler's regime admitted on June 14th its utter bankruptcy when it refused to pay the interest due on \$1,045,582,700—to the money sharks of the world. And the most recent suppressed contemplated uprising right within its own ranks, shows signs of the beginning of its approaching end.

It seems that the prophesy of our collaborator, M. Acharya, in the March issue, is already beginning to come true. Governments are crumbling to dust because capitalism has hardly any markets left to conquer, or countries to exploit. The suffering of the people everywhere has reached more than its limit. Revolution—the only recourse left for the human race—is awaiting the lightning spark. When it finally will ignite the world the people will no longer need to make any more mistakes as to who their real enemies are. Every ruling power of the world, including the pretentious revolutionary one of Russia, will have to go down to perdition. For, as long as a single government is left, real liberation from every form of exploitation and oppression will not have been fully achieved.

PHILIP FINKLER

(1882-1934)

The Comrades of Philadelphia have lost one of their nearest friends in the death of Philip Finkler, aged 62, who expired on the 1st day of March, 1934.

Many of the Anarchist movement probably never heard of the deceased, but to those of us who knew him during his living days will, for a long time to come, remember the sympathetic and sociable figure that always had a comradely greeting for everyone who came in his presence.

Philip Finkler was not a party member, in the true sense of the word. He never made any attempt to claim recognition for his early activities in the movement, but in his humble way he was an idealist, a rebel and a true Anarchist. He was the type of man in whom the spirit of revolt is forever brewing against all social injustices from which the human race is made to suffer. From his earliest days, when the average youth enters upon a personal career, Finkler set out on a journey of vagrancy. He tramped his way from one town into another, slept in one hooosegow and was chased from the next—always seeking something different in life than mere personal satisfaction in food and shelter.

Yet, this aimless abandon did not satisfy his restless spirit. He craved for an ideal. He wanted to share his fate with those who are the victims of social injustice and economic oppression. He wanted to be in the thick of a rebellion, coming from the down-trodden and persecuted masses. But he lacked leadership. He could feel the plight of those people, but could not stir them up to an armed protest against the usurpers of their rights.

The glorious moment came to him when Coxey lead his famous march of unemployed. To Finkler this was the great event. He joined the forces of 122 strong and marched with them to Washington. How he always took great delight in relating the adventure. He never failed to recount that he was one of the few that composed Coxey's army . . .

After this fatal venture, he devoted himself entirely to the Anarchist and to the Workers' cause. He arranged Anarchist lectures (particularly those of Voltairine de Cleyre, whom he greatly admired); helped to spread its literature and took active part in strikes and other activities that were in the interest of the labor movement.

With the advance in years came also a decline in spirit. The fire of enthusiasm had burned out—like in all men, approaching the age of tranquility. But even then he remained the idealist—and an Anarchist. He kept on helping the movement, morally and financially. Never did he refuse a contribution, within his means, when it called for the Anarchist movement, or for any cause in the radical field. Seldom did he miss a protest meeting or any assemblage where the voice of labor was being heard.

Of late he was subjected to painful agony from physical ailments. His limbs became paralyzed and he could no longer leave the confines of his bed. But many a comrade will remember the last scene in Camp Germain when he mustered up the little strength he had left, so as to remain a little longer in their company. He did not want to part.

Philip Finkler was cremated. Only a tiny bit of ashes remained from his body that had devoted all the living days for our ideal. But his memory will linger in the minds of our comrades for a long time to come.

Samuel Poltrow

Tomb of Dole

I prayed for a hoe and a garden spot . . .
They served my beans from charity's pot . . .
I am the beans—they stewed my soul,—
And my manhood was laid in a tomb of dole.

Redemption

A furious passion dogged me like a sin
Till I was forced to yield my fallow breast
And fructify the vision sown within
By sharing my life with new and terrible zest.

With Weapon of Love

Why do I seek the anarchist ideal?
I stand where Jesus did with no misgiving,
My only weapon—love—to work repeal
Of tyrannies that bruise the art of living.

LLOYD FRANK MERRILL

MAN!

A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement
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MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscripts is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Correspondence Address

1000 Jefferson Street, Oakland, California, U. S. A.

ANARCHISTS: Kate Austin

(1864-1902)

Carl Nold

To introduce Kate Austin to the younger generation of radical thought I can do no better than to quote from William Holmes what he wrote of her when he heard of her death:

"We who anxiously awaited her coming as that of a dear sister feel that the cause of radicalism in America has, in the death of Kate Austin, cost one of its brightest, most energetic and devoted champions—a woman fit, like Charlotte Corday, to wear the martyr's crown, or under favorable circumstances to fill the role of Joan d'Arc, to lead a great army of the discontented to insurrection and victory. There is no doubt that had Kate Austin's life been passed in an environment more suitable for development she would have become a noted character in the history of the nation. Even as it was her bold utterances and scathing denunciation of wrong in the radical press denoted ever increasing power and attracted widespread attention. Hers was a heart filled to overflowing with tenderness for the weak and suffering everywhere, with sympathy for the oppressed of all nations, with hatred for tyranny and hypocrisy at home and abroad."

Kate Austin, born in La Salle county, Ill., July 25, 1864 was a born rebel, one of those rare wild flowers that bloom and delight the thoughtful observer while the multitude passes on in ignorance of the hidden beauty. At the age of six, her parents moved to Hooks Point, Iowa; at the age of eleven her mother died and Kate, the oldest of five children, had to take the mothers' place in raising the younger ones and taking care of the house. With but 2 years schooling in the red painted country school to which the farmer children marched several miles for five days a week. Kate had received early a bitter taste of life. However, she had learned to read, and reading was her only amusement. In 1883 she had become acquainted with a young farmer, Sam Austin, and married him. At about that time also a stray copy of Moses Harman's "Lucifer" fell in her hands. It was a ray of light, for the paper touched on questions that had already revolved in her mind, demanding solution. The young brain was convinced that there is something wrong in this society with the poor on one side and the rich on the other. But the real eye-opener was yet to come. It was the bursting of the bomb at the Haymarket in Chicago, on May 4, 1886. The version of that act, as she read it in capitalist papers, did not agree with her searching mind. She subscribed for other radical papers of which she had read in "Lucifer" and soon Kate embraced the then so madly persecuted idea of Anarchism. Not satisfied of knowing the true conditions, she felt the desire to help and spread them and soon we see her name in Lucifer, Blue Grass Blade, Discontent, Free Society etc., etc., signed Kate Austin.

In 1890 she moved with her husband to Missouri near the small hamlet called Caplinger Mills, some 20 miles from the nearest railroad station. But the young woman did not feel lonesome in this isolation. Born and raised in the country, country life was her ideal. She had a husband sharing her ideas, children, house work and writing for radical papers. There was more to do than she could master. Having joined the American Press-Writers Association, her work and correspondence increased, she had come in contact with most of the well known radical writers and lecturers of her time and her correspondence kept her busy, sitting by an oil lamp, reading and writing till late into the night while the family slept. She enjoyed it, it was part of her education.

It was Kate's nature to always take side with the underdog. In time of depressions, when the country was full of tramps, she always took them in and gave them the best she had, regarding them as human beings so much that some of the neighbors sent them to Kate, telling them that there is a free boarding house over there. The same consideration that Kate had for human beings, she also had for animals. It was beautifully illustrated to me one day when she told Sam to hitch two horses to a plow. "You know its loose soil, one horse can pull it easy" replied Sam.

"Yes, I know, but its easier on two", was Kate's suggestion, and so it was done.

The house, built before the war (1860) was a solid, spacious one-story structure and open day and night to everybody. In fact I have never seen a key to any lock or door in the house, even when the whole family (Kate had three daughters and two sons) went visiting neighbors, no door was locked. There were no secrets in the house, no whispering because children might hear something they should not know. Children were supposed to hear what adults had to say and Kate aired her mind on every subject regardless of children or visitors.

Although of a serious nature, Kate Austin also had a humorous vein in her and she enjoyed a good joke. I distinctly remember two I heard her tell: While arguing one evening with a farmer that the earth makes a complete turn every 24 hours like a wheel on an axle, the farmer left her with a doubtful expression on his face, bidding her good night and "I'll see you tomorrow." And he did show up early the next morning, hollering at her: "Kate, you are a big humbug, when I got home last night I put a heavy stone on that tree stump near my house and this morning it was still there. Had the earth made a complete turn like a wheel, as you said, the stone would have fallen off, would it not?"

The other one was about the traveling evangelists and their revival meetings, which were looked upon with suspicion by the farmers. The farmer's wife was exceedingly anxious to attend these meetings while her husband ridiculed them. When one specially celebrated evangelist's coming was announced, the wife insisted on hearing him, although it meant a two days' trip with horse and buggy going and returning. The farmer finally consented under the condition that she would wear a pair of tin-pants which he would make and solder onto her body while in that town. Be it so, said the wife and both went on the journey. The next morning after the meeting the farmer woke up and missed his wife. Out he stormed and met an acquaintance with the question: "Hello, Jim, have you seen my wife?"

"Yes," replied Jim, "I saw her going down the road towards the bushes with the evangelist, who had a can-opener in his hand."



Lithograph Cut by D. Chun
KATE AUSTIN

Is Woman Doomed by Natural Law to be the Mental Inferior of Man?

An Unpublished Article By Kate Austin

It is not strange that woman, with all a woman's admiration for the good qualities of her sex should answer that question with an emphatic "No!" and yet, sad to say, the attitude of society, of all laws and social regulations, besides the essays of many learned men, have all answered emphatically in the affirmative.

Centuries ago theologians even debated the question as to whether woman did not lack a soul as well as brains, and some of them admitted they could find no trace of woman's soul existing. They might have had better success had they been searching brains.

Doubtless many of you have read the writings of Helen Gardner, one of the smartest women in the U. S., and who was complimented as having the best paper read before the World's Congress of Women at Chicago during the 1893 World's Fair?

In a lecture by Helen Gardner which I read about 10 years ago, she told of a very learned man, whose name I have forgotten, who had made a speciality of the study of the human brain. This gentleman has discovered that woman could never hope to be the mental equal of man because her brain lacked in quantity a certain substance that predominated in the brain of man, and from this he argued that woman was doomed by nature to occupy an inferior position in comparison to man.

Well, this great professor passed away and was followed by another specialist in brains, and this one discovered a little more, namely that this valuable substance, which his predecessor had thought of such importance to man in his realm of intellect, also predominated in the brain of many young children and idiots! And then Helen Gardner, with all her impudence, characteristic of her sex, quaintly remarked that for her part she preferred quality to quantity and if a man wanted a monopoly of that precious substance that predominates in the brain of an idiot, he is welcome to it.

Darwin, the great scientist, was manifestly upset to woman. I will quote a few passages, bearing on the mental differences of the two sexes, from his "Descent of Man":

"The chief distinction in the intellectual powers of the two sexes is shown by man attaining a higher eminence in whatever he undertakes than can women. Whether requiring deep thought, reason or imagination, or merely the use of the sense and hands. Also if two lists were made of the most eminent men and women in all the arts and sciences, that the list could not bear comparison and that if men are capable of a decided pre-eminence over women on many subjects, the average of mental power in man must be above that of woman." Then Darwin goes on to say:

"That it is fortunate the father transmits mental endowments to both sexes else man would have been superior in mental endowment to woman as the peacock is in ornamental plumage to the peahen."

(How very modest is man in weighing his abilities.)

Further on Darwin makes a statement that has considerable bearing on woman's status in society, it is this: "Man being more powerful in body and mind than woman, keeps her in a far more abject state of bondage in a savage state than does the male of any other animal."

And right there is the key to the whole mystery. The word bondage explains it all and it is surprising that a man like Darwin did not grasp the situation. But it is only one more proof that no one man, however learned and great he may be in all the arts and sciences, can be infallible on all points. The great woman Lucretia Moll said: "Let us take truth for authority and not authority for truth." And that is a bit of advice humanity needs to take to heart. Darwin made the mistake of taking authority for truth, for one authority admits in speaking of the difference of brain development of the two sexes that "more observations were needed on this point."

All must admit that among the names of the world's history of great writers, artists and inventors, man heads the list in point of numbers but in quality there are not a few women who stand on an equality with man, as a writer George Eliot, the noble English woman is one, and Wendel

There are people of the goody-goody variety who may consider such a joke vulgar, especially among children as listeners, yet Kate knew that these things are going on and although a little exaggerated, do happen and after all it is a good joke on evangelists and revival meetings.

And now the last sad chapter. A splendid woman and comrade, born, raised and all her life in good country air and healthful surroundings, was doomed to die of that city-plague, consumption. For about a year she knew there was something wrong with her but no one suspected the cause. She had been doctoring by correspondence with the well-known and reputable Dr. E. B. Foote in New York who advised a change in climate. Sam rigged up a covered wagon and left with Kate for the healthier air of Colorado. It was too late, Kate died on the road in the little city of Kingman, Kansas, on October 28, 1902. Her body was sent back and interred in the cemetery at Caplinger Mills in the presence of the largest crowd that ever attended a funeral in that district.

Splendid articles in memory of Kate Austin were published in the radical press. A brief quotation of another noble woman comrade, Voltairine de Cleyre, is in place here:

"I never knew her, I always dreamed I should know her some day. From the time she wrote to me in much, far too much sorrow for a trifling injustice she had done me—and that only because she was steadfast for the honor of the workers, and jealous of a single contemptuous word against them—until yesterday, I always thought I should one day look into her face and tell her how much I admired her for her fearlessness and her truth. Now I never shall—never, anywhere, and by so much my life is made less."

Phillips declared that the brain of Harriet Martineau was worth that of 40,000 men. But what could or can we expect from a class that has been in what Darwin calls abject bondage, that was allowed none of the privileges of school to speak of, except in the last 50 years. That were taught from the cradle up that the sole aim of woman was existence, as Dr. E. B. Foote quaintly puts it, "was to glorify man and serve him forever."

Woman and man as well even today are the victims of law and customs that originated ages ago in brute force among our savage ancestors that lived in caves and fought each other over the possession of a bone or a woman. Man, the strongest physically, but not mentally, enslaved the woman and by an exhibition of muscular power, wielded in the shape of a club over weaker men, enslaved them also. The "law of might" came and fastened its hold on the human race and curses humanity to the present day.

Man gained a greater ascendancy over woman than over his fellows through maternity. Motherhood became an active factor to keep woman in subservience. A woman will bear anything for the sake of her children. The maternal instinct to stay with the young, to guard them from danger, to lay down even life itself is a great law of nature that no mother can resist. In that dark past woman had no choice to speak of, she was the property of the strongest and always a beast of burden. But slowly the human race crept on, man gradually extended his powers in many ways, but he never willingly let go of any privileges. The government founded on physical force reached out to encircle the earth, the graft, the selfish always in the lead. Intellectual some of them were, but what is intellect when it has no sympathy with human kind? A monster from whom you can expect neither justice nor mercy. Woman was a silent factor or if noisy, condemned to the ducking stool, pillory, or death.

When the art of printing was invented and came into use, knowledge spread, even the son of a serf might learn to read and the daughter too, sometimes. The spirit of liberty grew and men began to treat women with more consideration and began to preach that it was the duty of man to protect woman. Had they considered that woman was their mental equal they would not have done this. They called woman a frail and lovely flower, the angel of life, etc., etc. There were some rebels among the women who declared it did not sweeten life to be treated like a first class fool and then have heavenly names applied to their wounded self-respect. They demanded justice in preference to protection and then were called masculine, immodest and were ostracized accordingly. But though it is possible to smolder revolt, you can never entirely extinguish it. And today the rebels are boldly proclaiming by acts as well as words that they are the equal of man and that there is no sex in the brain.

Here it may not be out of place to quote from an article in the "Inter-Ocean," from the pen of Mary H. Krout, one of the brainiest American newspaper correspondents we have now, writing letters from London: "At the great University of London where women stand on absolute equality with men and where examinations are the most thorough and difficult of any in Europe, women stood higher than men and received proportionately a greater number of degrees." And the same story is told of schools in the U. S. The great trouble with any sex has been bondage and lack of opportunity. We can see how man has been hampered in intellect by superstition and the rule of his fellows. Woman's lot has been far worse for she has been the slave of a slave. Her sphere is mapped out and from the cradle to the grave she is subjected to the scrutiny of society, and though women today in some countries enjoy much liberty it is not the same generous measure that is given her brothers. Just a few months ago the first woman was given the right to practice medicine in Austria and to get that privilege had to appeal in person to the emperor, every authority below him having refused this gifted woman, though she stood very high in all her examinations. Think of bigotry and the injustice of asserting that woman is mentally inferior to man in face

(Continued on Last Page)

Can Organization be Anti-Authoritarian?

A Letter From Spain and A Reply

The Letter

Comrade Melchior Seele:

Mieres, April 30th, 1934.

I have followed with interest the controversy between MAN! and Comrade Onofre Dallas, which is to be deplored on account of the extremes to which things have been carried. I must say that neither Guefiri nor Comrade Graham is right in considering the C. N. T. as a reformist and centralized organization and in comparing it to the I. W. W.

It is true that in the January movement objectionable things took place. Those who were responsible for them, owing to their position, have been expelled. Also is it true that "C. N. T." a C. N. T. organ, published an editorial in which the movement was condemned, but that paper found itself compelled to make amends, as the item was the job of a staff member and not of the organization.

As to what concerns me here, that is your explanation in this month's issue of MAN!, the error is not in the translation, but in the meaning of the word itself. We say "Plenos de Regionales" or "Pleno de Sindicatos," to mean the deliberations of the most authorized ones in an administrative assembly as you say: "Plenum meaning plenary, that is the highest deliberating administrative assembly." This sentence, with no further explanation, plainly gives an idea of a centralized power; but it is not so, because the delegates who participate in such an assembly have been elected by the syndicates, which, in their turn, have held timely assemblies to fully discuss the issues and elect their delegations to the "Syndicates' Plenum" (Plena de Sindicatos) where are elected the delegates who are to sit in the Regionals' Plenum (Pleno de Regionales).

Furthermore, what we call CONSIGNA, given by the C. N. T., is neither an order nor a military watchword in the sense you explain, it is the opinion of the majority of the workers as strengthened by the agreements of the Regionals in their Plenos.

I have not wanted to enter into this controversy directly, although I wrote an article in EL LUCHADOR edited by Urales, almost a year ago, in which things were straightened, and comrade Graham's mistake was pointed out. Comrade Graham invokes the testimony of Federica Montseny, Max Nettlau and F. Urales. No doubt but there has been an internecine strife, disagreeable enough to be sure, which was started by the Barcelona prisoners, following deportations, and the manifesto by Pestana, who has been expelled from the C. N. T. for over a year; but that internal strife was not directed against the C. N. T., which emerged from it without blame and without detriment as to principles; it was waged against those who were in charge of the Regional Catalana, where the C. N. T. was sitting at that time. Furthermore, Urales, his daughter, Federica, and Max Nettlau as well, have always sided with the C. N. T. and for the purity of its principles, as all its militants are wont to do.

Of course mistakes were made then and after, but our duty is to avoid them by all means.

Receive my fraternal greetings and extend them to Graham. Tell him that if he wishes me to write for MAN!—which I receive—he has but to say so.

Yours,

Solano Palacio

The Reply

Philadelphia, Pa.
June 18th, 1934

Dear Comrade Solano Palacio:

While I sit down to answer your very kind letter of April 30th, news comes of new events in Spain, the consequence of which may well be portentous. My first thought goes naturally to those who fight for the good cause and to those who are suffering in the dungeons of the Bourbonic Republic for the valiant struggle they have waged in the past.

This makes me conscious of the untimeliness of the controversy to which your letter refers. The more so that MAN!'s stand on a matter of principle has given its enemies an opportunity to claim that instead of defending the fighters of the Spanish Revolution, it is stabbing them in the back. In the blindness of their hatred they seem to forget that MAN!'s stand was taken immediately after the failure of the January movement on the basis of reports which were not of its making. Events have followed in rapid succession since, but as it is, we are still discussing about the January movement.

I can well understand how pitiful it must all appear to you, in the center of the rapidly moving storm. Let me tell you that it is refreshing to see that from the scene of action, you can see things more cool-headedly than some of our own zealots who seem to delectate in idle talk.

The controversy—leaving personality aside—revolves around a matter of principle and methods as you rightly point out. Principle and methods are always open to debate. No amount of valor and sacrifice can convert them into dogmas. As a reader of MAN! you know that this paper has constantly paid its homage to the inspiring valor of our Spanish comrades.

From this distance, and, I must confess, from my lack of direct knowledge of the Spanish Anarchist movement, there is little I can say as to details. Guefiri's facts may not be exactly reported, but the meaning they convey is, in my opinion, confirmed by reason and by documents.

It is hard for me to imagine a labor organization that is not in some measure authoritarian. No one, I suppose, pretends that all the members of the C. N. T. are Anarchists. If they were, the C. N. T. would be nothing but a duplicate of the F. A. I. The conflict originated by the January movement, to which the F. A. I. was favorable, while the C. N. T. was not, proves that such is not the case.

There being a more or less deep difference of opinion within the C. N. T., whose opinion is to prevail? The opinion of its Anarchist members or that of its non-An-

archist members? In ordinary times I admit it may be comparatively easy for the different factions of the membership to freely take a common stand against employer or government. But in times of revolution, when fundamentals are at stake and radical attitudes must be taken and adhered to, it is practically impossible. Whether the Anarchist or the non-Anarchist faction succeeds in prevailing and imposing its particular point of view on the other and in dictating the attitude of the organization, is immaterial in my assumption. In either case the prevailing party is bound to impose and dictate through sheer weight of numbers or ability: in either case of power.

It is more than a coincidence—it seems to me—that you happen to have adopted an authoritarian phraseology. Your "Plenos" are the organs—no matter how democratic they may be—and your "Consignas" are the dicta—no matter how democratically arrived at—of such power.

The internal strife you refer to only proves that such a dualism exists. And so do Nettlau's opinion, and Urales' and Montseny's. The fact that they are in favor of the C. N. T.—a fact which no one has contested—if anything, gives credit to the evils they point out. I believe that any one is entitled to doubt the soundness of a method which can, by the sole operations of its organizational game, indifferently serve an Anarchist or a non-Anarchist purpose.

Had the Anarchist point of view prevailed within the C. N. T. in January this organization would certainly have placed its stakes with the Anarchist struggle of those days; and no official organ of its own would have emerged in the heart of the fight with the amazing declaration that "this is not our revolution."

All this, you say, is past and gone. Pestana and his following have been expelled, the erring editor has made amends. Well, this means that people have gone—who should have done so very long before—but what about the harm that has been done? And has the system been amended to prevent a repetition?

It would be an intolerable presumption on my part were I even to try to tell you what the Spanish comrades should do. But I hope I may express my deepest apprehensions for the future of your movement after reading Comrade Eusebio C. Carbo's statement concerning the January movement. "It was a great mistake—he says—because in this way the initiative was taken from the hands of the C. N. T. and also

MARY ISAAK

(1861-1934)

Death keeps on taking its toll of man's life. At the same time it removes some of the dearest and staunchest comrades. Without some of these now departed comrades, our movement could not have made the strides that it has. Mary Isaak was undoubtedly such a figure. She herself never would reveal in full the important part she played in our movement. But her life companion, Abe Isaak, did, to close comrades.

With the appearance of "Free Society" on Feb. 5, 1895, as a weekly Anarchist publication, the Isaaks—to be more correct, the entire Isaak family—embarked upon unceasing activity in our movement, that made possible the almost uninterrupted appearance of "Free Society" until Nov. 20, 1904. It served as an outstanding forum of our movement during its entire period, publishing the best that our thinkers have created, both in serial, and afterwards in pamphlet and book form.

The Isaak family not only issued the paper. It set it up, edited and mailed it, as well. Many time there was scarcely anything to eat in the house, and traveling comrades came and stayed without even offering to pay for food or to contribute towards the upkeep of the paper. Mary, relates Isaak, "would often complain and grumble," but would, again and again wind up by "denying that she was making any sacrifices, as the customary saying goes, and that she really enjoyed her work in helping along the cause." What hurt her most was to note that many prominent comrades were "seemingly unable to pay their regular subscriptions, while they were spending many dollars at dances of the radicals and in wine cellars."

The paper cost the comrades very little during its nine years of existence, as the Isaak family leased a large rooming house, renting out rooms—Mary of course carrying the chief burden of housing and feeding the roomers and taking care of the children and never failing to make her daily appearance in the composing room to help set the type for the paper.

"One Sunday afternoon," relates Isaak, "we were walking four miles to a meeting, not feeling able to spend the fare, so we concluded that we would be compelled to suspend the paper, not being able to pay for paper, presswork, and mailing. But coming to the post office we found quite a few letters, containing \$28. We were rich, of course, and before we reached home we had agreed to enlarge the paper. The "Firebrand" (changed later to "Free Society") was at that time a little over a year old."

As Henry Addis, another now departed once-active comrade, wrote about the first year of the paper: "The expenditures were so insignificant compared to the hard labor and devotion put into it by the Isaak family—\$7.50 per issue, of two thousand copies! And all they were hoping was for an income of \$10 per week, and they could enlarge the paper and have enough for food..."

Isaak believes that: "Had we remained in San Francisco or later in Chicago, perhaps "Free Society" would have continued to appear, but we made the mistake to accept the invitation of a New York Free Society group—and that was the beginning of the end of "Free Society". We struggled along until we were \$160 in debt, and then quit," the Isaak family paying off the debt to the printer on installments.

Always lovers of the land, the Isaaks founded the "Aurora" Colony at Lincoln, California. When the colony went down,

the direction and the efficient organization of the movement. The C. N. T. immediately declined any solidarity with the rebellion, although it gave its complete solidarity to the victims of the revolutionary attempt, which was irrevocably doomed to failure since the federal organization had not mobilized its forces."

I hardly need to enlarge upon this statement. If it is genuine, and I believe it to be, it is the worst indictment that can be brought against the C. N. T. There is not a single authoritarian party in the world which could not undersign such a statement, in similar circumstances. It says that, after all, he was not so wrong who wrote: "this is not our revolution." It says further that no Revolution, not even an Anarchist Revolution, may be valid in Spain, unless initiated, directed and organized by the C. N. T. You may say that Carbo is not the C. N. T. But he certainly is an influential member of it and not the last of its organizers.

I think that we who witness the Spanish Revolution from afar should be very careful in passing judgment upon it. We have a great deal to learn from it, very little to teach. But we cannot be so indifferent to it as not to be deeply apprehensive about its success. To tell you the whole truth, we are proud of the inspiring example our Spanish comrades are giving to this decrepit world of ours, and because we are proud of them, we are extremely anxious lest their gallantry and sacrifices be frustrated—as it has so often happened—by the cunning of politicians or the sterility of un-Anarchist methods.

I take the liberty to ask MAN! to publish your letter—from which I delete the last sentences which have no relation to the controversy—and this answer as a joint effort to bring the controversy back to its proper ground, from which it should never have been removed.

Yours very truly,

Melchior Seele

On the same controversy, Man! has also received protest resolutions from the Free Society Group of Chicago, and the recently held conference of the Spanish Anarchist Groups of this country.

The able reply of Comrade Seele to the letter of Comrade Palacio ought to aid in making it clear to the writers of the two protests as to what the real issue involved is.—Editor.

the Isaaks remained. It was here that Mary spent the last twenty years of her life. From all appearances she loved the life in the country. The several visits I made to the Isaaks showed this to me. Mary had a way of making one forget that one was a stranger in a new house. Those who have ever visited the Isaaks will always remember her hospitality. She never liked to talk much. But when she did say anything there was something to it. Every discussion about our movement, its people, and its tactics she followed carefully, and often participated in them.

The love that she inspired among her neighbors is best pictured by a tribute of Marie Pustka in the Lincoln paper, where she says in part:

"The loss to us is immense, as we have lived in peace, harmony and helpfulness one to another. Nearly all I know about the ranch work, the beautiful ideas, I owe to you, dear friend. Your enthusiasm, cheerfulness and warm sympathy made my daily task a lighter one in this vale of tears... Forgetting yourself you were ready to help others in all ways... You walk the garden no more on your beloved Aurora Ranch, but to recall you I have only to sit down and close my eyes and soon I see you among the tress and flowers... I wish that I could express all the lovely memories that are in my heart..."

It isn't only comrade Abe Isaak who is left bereft of a life-long companion. All those who have known Mary Isaak are likewise bereft of a cherished friend and comrade. But death takes no account of such things, and man is powerless to overcome this eternal spectre of life.

Marcus Graham

A Call to A Conference

We have received a communication from the secretary of a conference committee from which we quote the following: "The anarchists may rejoice at the encouraging news comrades Emma Goldman and Rudolf Rocker bring in from their cross country lecture tours. They both found the youth of the country manifesting a great awakening. The Bolshevik spell which has swayed so many of the youths since the Revolution is losing its grip, and forward looking young people are ready and anxious to listen to anarchist ideas. The Freedom Group in New York, in conjunction with a few others groups, formed a committee delegated to organize a conference of all those interested in an English-speaking anarchist movement in the United States and Canada. The idea of this conference is not entirely new, as we have held a number of these affairs within the last eight or nine years. None of them developed anything of great consequence. This time, however, because of the pressing needs of the mass of the people, we are determined to bring into being all the old time zest and spirit of the anarchists of other days and apply new methods of propaganda to apply to existing conditions.

We suggest this tentative agenda, subject to change and enlargement:

- 1.—Ways and means of organizing a strong English-speaking anarchist movement. (a) Federation of English-speaking anarchist groups. (b) Field organizers.
- 2.—Anarchist stand in the Labor movement.
- 3.—Our relation to the farmer and agrarian worker.
- 4.—Our relation to the technician in industry.
- 5.—Modern schools for children.
- 6.—Youth movement.
- 7.—The cooperative movement.
- 8.—The anarchist press. (a) Periodicals. (b) Other literature.

The date of the conference will be Saturday and Sunday, August 11th and 12th, the place will be the Ferrer Colony, Stelton, N. J."

ART and LITERATURE

Robber Town

Where once grew nothing but wild woods, grass, vegetables and fruits, there stands now huge buildings with very little originality, dwelling houses nearly all of one pattern, intermingled with paved highways and streets.

But what WAS once is but a memory TODAY. The very same place is now known as Robber Town. Few dwelling houses are to be found in its center. Tall buildings stand out in a manner that bespeaks their importance. For within these walls Robber Town transacts very important business. In fact, it's the vital life-center of the community's well being.

Something had just happened in this Robber Town that tended to disturb its usual peaceful appearance.

Right on the windows of Robber Town's chief bank, one of its clerks had noticed, scattered about, cards. He picked one up and looked at it. On it was announced a lecture on: "The Present World Crisis, It's Possible Way Out."

The card must have looked very queer for the clerk soon enough placed it before the president of the bank.

With an assumed dignity becoming the head of a bank, the president glanced first indifferently at the card. But the dignified manner quickly disappeared.

The very idea of it. A "poet" is coming to town, to tell how to get out of the present crisis! How is he to know anything about such matters?

Again the eyes of the president were scrutinizing the card with concern. They had evidently caught sight of something that made him turn from mere curiosity to plain chagrin.

The telephone wire began humming. The mayor of Robber Town was on the other end of the wire. Was he aware of what is going to take place tonight? Had he seen the cards? What does he think is the hidden meaning behind it all?

The mayor already knew of the calamity that was threatening Robber Town. Calls had been pouring in from all its "leading" citizens, urging immediate action. An emergency meeting was to take place in his office within an hour. The leading citizens of Robber Town were now assembled in the city hall.

The card announcing the lecture was read again and again. The meaning of every word was studied and interpreted. Two major things were baffling the intelligence of the gathering. First, the stated fact: that the speaker was "Editor" of "An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry." Second, the card carried also this significant sentence:

"Come tonight and find out Why your leaders are misleading you!"

No one of those present had ever heard of such a book as the anthology. It certainly couldn't be a poetry book on the great American revolution! On this everyone agreed.

On the second sentence there was dissension. Some were of the opinion that treachery was implied, not against the leading citizens of Robber Town, but against the leaders of the Council of the Famishing. Others thought this was only a ruse with a two-fold purpose.

Why had this man chosen Robber Town in which to discuss an issue that concerns the entire country? How could he, a poet, have a solution for the general present instability, when none of the assembled gathering had the least presumption how it could be done.

The conclusion was therefore reached that: the man must be a secret agent of the Council of the Famishing.

After all these outpourings, it was unanimously agreed that the meeting was to be stopped at all costs.

The destiny of frightened Robber Town must be saved.

In another part of Robber Town's small Carnegie Library sat the poet-lecturer. He had had quite an exciting time of it, ever since his arrival. It was 10 p. m. the night before when he came. Some of his comrades went at once to the hall of the Council of the Famishing, where a meeting was in progress, to announce the lecture.

The leaders of the Council of the Famishing at first dodged in making the announcement. Finally they flatly refused. To top it all, they withdrew the promise to give the hall for the scheduled lecture.

The comrades of the poet were amazed and outraged at such duplicity, but not he himself. The ideal of the leaders of the Council of the Famishing was an authoritarian one, his was the very opposite, libertarian.

The poet and his comrades began to plan how to carry through the lecture, despite the newly arisen obstacles.

The following morning the search for a hall began. They finally got one, and paid the rental fee in full. Cards were mimeographed at once, and by noontime the poet and his comrades were broadcasting them in the very heart of Robber Town.

Some of his comrades went to arrange the chairs in the hall. It was already late in the afternoon when they returned. Their faces were sad and embittered. The hall keeper had refused to let them have the hall, and was ready to refund the fee.

The poet and his comrades proceeded at once to the hall keeper.

"What is the meaning of all this, renting a hall, giving a receipt in payment for same, and at the last moment backing out?"

"Go easy, boy!" interrupted another man, the poet's protest to the hall keeper.

The poet, for the first time, looked at this man, and another one standing near him. He still insisted on an explanation.

"This is the mayor and assistant chief of police of Robber Town," spoke up the hall keeper.

"Yes, and you'd better be careful as to what you say," interjected the second man.

"Why did you come here?"

"We can arrest each and all of you for distributing cards without a license."

"Isn't the Council of the Famishing that really brought you here?"

"Can we see a copy of the talk you intend to give?"

"Can we see at least an outline of what you intend to say?"

"Don't you have any notes prepared for your talk?"

"Do you sell any literature?"

"Who pays for your coming here?"

"We believe in free speech as the constitution prescribes, but in times like now, we'd better be careful."

To this barrage the poet only pointed to a small notice in the daily press announcing that he was to deal with the Machine Age of Unemployment. He came to Robber Town as he had to any of the more than twenty cities where he had already spoken during his present lecture tour. He refused to let them see any notes. He didn't carry any literature for sale. He didn't even know a single leader of the Council of the Famishing. No one pays for his talks. Only the fare-cost is reimbursed.

This last statement the officials of Robber Town could hardly believe.

Being shown newspaper clippings of interviews with the poet and reports of his lectures, the officials of Robber Town were thrown into confusion. Evidently they knew before coming what they were going to do. Now they began to fear the exposure that might be made of their actions.

A long drawn-out conference began between the officials of Robber Town and the hall keeper. When it came to an end, the hall keeper said:

"Well, it's up to you, Mr. Mayor."

"No, it's up to you," answered the mayor.

The officials of Robber Town had backed down.

Finally the mayor announced he would "allow" the lecture to take place. He would have the assistant chief of police and detectives present, and ready to stop the meeting the very moment it became seditious to the interests of Robber Town.

From his former tone of contempt, the mayor now changed to that of politeness and assuming intimacy.

"You know," said the mayor, addressing the poet and his comrades, "I always have been a friend of the famishing. Not so long ago we had a strike in Robber Town. Would you believe that I was up 24 hours a day? Always with the strikers, speaking at their meetings. And, if you doubt my words, just look at this message to the city council. See for yourself what a friend I am of the famishing ones."

The officials of Robber Town began to converse in whispers with the hall keeper, as the poet hurriedly glanced through the message. His eyes fell on this paragraph, which he copied:

"Words are not at hand for your mayor fully to express his gratitude to those officials and employees of the city; the members of the police and fire force; to those of our business and professional men, and to many other loyal Robber Town men and women who aided by their timely and friendly council in the city's most trying ordeal of coping with numerous problems calling for quick solution, last May at the time of the strike of the employees of the Robber Town Rubber and Woolen plant."

Here it was, written in black on white. The mayor had done his "duty" in full measure, to the employers of Robber Town.

When the poet and his comrades emerged from the place it was almost time to begin the lecture.

Outside scores of famishing men and women were walking up and down the street.

News in Robber Town spreads quickly even without the blessings of the many extras of a Daily Liar, as in the larger towns.

In front of the hall, a large crowd was waiting in the cold for the hall to open up.

Within twenty minutes the hall was jammed with an assembly of famishing people such as not even the metropolitan city of the U. S. has ever beheld.

Women with babes in their arms and girls. Old men and young ones. Starvation stared from their faces. Privation and want blinked from their eyes. These were the victims of Robber Town. Seemingly they were all here. They had come to hear a solution to their sufferings and misery.

Aroused by the unusual make-up of the audience, the poet spoke as he never did before. He spoke of Robber World's system of human exploitation and degradation, of its legal protector, the Government, of the machine-mad-worship and its appalling toll in human life and joy of creation. He pointed out a poet's conception of a sane race in a natural world, minus exploiters, rulers misleaders and machines; every human being holding the destiny of his fate in his own hands, as the great poet of America,—Walt Whitman, has so gloriously sung about.

Seditious utterances? They were indeed. But for some unexplainable reason, the assistant Chief of Police and his adjutants didn't interfere with the poet's talk at all.

The question and discussion period came. Silence—a predominating feeling of fear revealed itself. Each one present seemed to be conscious and afraid of Robber Town's watch dogs.

A gray-haired man finally braved to ask: what should be done right now to relieve the famine?

The poet answered: instead of waiting for a cup of coffee and a roll of bread with a ticket to a flop-house, the famished everywhere would accomplish far more by going to hardware stores, taking all the simple farm implements, to lumber yards for lumber, to dry goods stores for canvas, seed stores for plants and seeds, and with these go outside of any city limits, taking possession of the unused land, put up tents and shacks, and with the aid of Mother Earth, the land they'll till and the seed they'll plant will give them at least food aplenty, much quicker than any mechanical device of man could. As for the factories and miners, let the coupon holders go into them and work to their hearts content. It's time for the toilers to take a long deserved vacation from the jail hells of capitalism.

To the poet's own surprise, the upholders of Robber Town's safety did not interfere.

Not another question could be elicited by the poet, not to speak of a discussion. The meeting came to an end. Famished ones swarmed around him. Some began asking questions, but soon muteness prevailed again, as the spies of Robber Town approached.

"I'll see you later," the assistant Chief of Police shouted to the poet, trying to create the suspicious impression of an association with him.

"No you won't! You have the people here so much in the claws of fear that they don't even dare to ask questions in your presence."

The officials of Robber Town evidently didn't care to listen any longer. They left abruptly.

So came to an end a lecture on the present world crisis in Robber Town.

Lest some may suspect that the above narrative is nothing but imaginary fiction, I hasten to assure all, that this is not the case.

It's an actual experience in the twenty weeks lecture tour that I began in the East in December 1931 and wound up in California in May 1932.

The fictitious characters in the above narrative are in real life, as follows:

The Mayor of Robber Town is—Mason L. Peter.

The assistant Chief of Police is—Ed Dows.

The Council of the Famishing is—The Unemployed Council of the Proletarian Party.

Robber Town is a small city where the U. S. Rubber Trust holds full sway over the life of the community—Mishawaka, Indiana.

The name of the lecturer is the undersigned—

Marcus Graham

"SHOOT TO KILL!"—The Workers

(The Marine Transport Strike)

Wednesday, July 6th witnessed the enactment of a bloody attack upon the striking marine workers of San Francisco that has no equal in wanton brutality. Men and women were shot down by the police in cold blood—leaving two dead, two dying and 109 shot. All this in but one day!

"Law and order" must be preserved—shouts the Mayor-tool of the employers. "Property must be protected" echoes the police-chief of the same employers. "I hereby order the immediate mobilization and sending of the national guards to protect property"—shrieks the capitalist tool-governor of California. "Shoot to kill!"—orders the chief of the murder brigade of soldiers that are now ready to bring on more bloodier attacks upon the workers.

Why the unloosening of all this fury of plain murder upon the workers? All because they refuse to continue in being submissive slaves. All because they dared to believe that the NRA scheme granted them any rights at all. All because they allow themselves to be misled by every sort of politician into believing that labor can sit at one table with capital and adjust their differences.

For, what the marine transport strikers are undergoing now has been experienced time after time—whenever the workers dared to raise their heads as men. This kind of wanton and murderous brutality has been enacted under the very wings of the NRA in the coal mines of Alabama, Illinois, Pennsylvania and Kentucky, in the industrial centers of Minneapolis and Toledo. And no doubt—all this will repeat itself whenever and wherever the workers rise to demand the right to life and happiness.

The sword is always a two-folded weapon. Brutal force has never turned wrong into right. But in self-defence

against the organized force now arrayed against the workers—retaliation by open gorilla warfare is fully justified.

The exploiters have declared war upon the workers and the workers will meet the challenge.

Two days before this brutal attack in San Francisco—the striking marine workers—anticipating the threatened treatment by the authorities, appealed to the workers of all the other industries in the bay district to come out at once in a sympathy general strike. Most of the newspapers suppressed this call, and are trying to minimize it as much as they possibly can.

The employers and all purveyors of "public opinion"—meaning of course distorters of public opinion—will no doubt do their utmost to prevent the instituting of the general strike. There may even be found some labor misleaders who will betray the workers by urging them to desist in going out on a general strike. But the workers must pay no heed to their open and inner enemies.

Against the openly declared bloody warfare by the employers and their protector, the Government, the workers have only one weapon left THEIR OWN SOLIDARITY, BY COMING OUT IN AN IMMEDIATE GENERAL STRIKE.

If all the workers on the pacific coast will evince the same fighting spirit as have the marine workers until now, the present struggle will end in a victory for the workers.

I painfully reflect that in almost every political controversy of the 50 years, the leivred classes, the educated classes, the titled classes, have been in the wrong. The common people—the toilers—the men of uncommon sense—these have been responsible for nearly all of the social reforms which the world accepts today—W. E. Gladstone.

The Answer to the Government's Attempt to Destroy "Man!"

To Whom It May Concern

For the last few months the federal authorities have carried out a malicious attack against MAN! with the evident scope of subtly destroying it in an atmosphere of secrecy.

Why the attack is being made in secrecy can easily be understood: with the "new dealers" boasting about the freedom of the press, an open, direct attack on the paper might have proved a bit sensational and contradictory. Therefore a new scheme, which is as perfidious as it is simple, had to be resorted to: as it seems, in complicity with the postal authorities, the names of those who were trustful enough to send money for MAN!, via postal money order, were obtained, after which operatives of the Department of Justice and Department of Immigration began to visit such readers of MAN! all over the country asking them to stop support of, and subscribing to the paper, else they be prosecuted under the anti-anarchist law. Strongly, but quietly, for hypocrisy is ever the cloak of wrongdoer. The attack though had to come to a little light when the people who own the place where the editor rents his office, were arrested on deportation charges, and when the office itself was unwarrantably and arbitrarily raided.

The previous issue of MAN! has denounced the whole attack in detail, since it is a serious unprecedented case. One would believe that at such a brazen attempt against the freedom of the press the whole spectrum of the liberal and radical circles would have reacted vehemently with indignant protests. But nothing of the kind has happened. MAN! receives a fairly large number of liberal and radical publications but as yet in none of them have we seen the mildest protest, the slightest comment. Not even the conventional news item, although the Federated Press has released the news.

The rulers of the world have made it their damnable practice to always strike with their black claw of reaction at the Anarchists first, since the latter denounce and expose abuse and privilege in the most daring and uncompromising way. They fight and resist it to the best of their ability. But it is also a well known fact that when persecution succeeds in crippling the Anarchist movement, it usually turns against every other radical faction. Just look at Italy, Russia, Germany and this "free" country of ours as well. Here, the infamous Immigration Act of 1918 enacted as a result of the war and post-war hysteria, was originally and solely meant against the Anarchists; but it wasn't long before the unconcerned radical circles found out that it was being applied—contrary to the very provisions of the law—against I. W. W.'s and Communists.

In the present amazing, hypocritical and wanton attack against an Anarchist publication, the very same circles of neighbors and cousins pursue a like policy of indifference and UNCONCERN. All of them, with two notable exceptions: The One Big Union Bulletin of Winnipeg, Canada, and The Arbitrator of New York City.

Well, in fair play to all these, we wish to remark that this is not only an attempt to destroy an Anarchist publication but also one at the principle of free press itself. Silence and indifference in such a case are equivalent of complicity. Heed the warning neighbors! MAN! and the Anarchist movement are first feeling the reactionary wrath of the "new dealers," but gentlemen, "Who's next?"

Robert Little

*Little, if anything, has come to light. This in spite of the fact that marked copies of the May issue were sent to every news agency, to the press correspondents at Washington, to the leading dailies of the country, and to all bay district newspapers. The San Francisco Scripps-Howard "News" was furnished all the details by the editor of MAN! But all that has appeared was a garbled news item in but one daily newspaper—the Oakland, Calif., Tribune!

No more blunter proof as to how prostituted the daily press is, has ever been surpassed than the one that is now being exhibited by the San Francisco and Oakland newspapers. Day after day, every daily prints almost identically the same bold face editorial on their front pages, aiming at bringing in disruption among the longshoremen and associated craft strikers—strikers who are carrying on one of the most inspiring strikes in recent years. When one compares the editorials with the statements emanating daily from the San Francisco and Oakland Chambers of Commerce—one can easily guess who orders and controls the prostituted daily press to act as they do. Then one need no longer wonder why the daily press of the country aids in the governments' attempt to destroy an Anarchist journal. They, as the government, are but the tools of one master—capitalism.—EDITOR.

Those who Responded

American Civil Liberties Union: "We are very much amazed and very deeply interested in the alleged series of acts of persecution outlined in the copy of 'Man!' (May issue) enclosed with your letter and further described in the letter itself."

Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union to U. S. Commissioner of Immigration, Col. MacCormack:

"Dear Col. MacCormack:

The most extraordinary proceeding of which I've heard since you took office is apparently being conducted by agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Department against subscribers to a San Francisco publication "Man!" This is a paper with an anarchist philosophy, edited by Marcus Graham. It goes legally through the mails. The publisher is not proceeded against.

"But agents of your department are investigating subscribers to 'Man!', evidently on the theory that an alien who gets this paper is liable to deportation. But the agents do not confine themselves to aliens. I have a letter from one of our attorneys in Nashville, Tennessee, who happens to be a subscriber to the paper, stating that an agent of the Depart-

ment, Conant, came to him on Friday, May 11th, to check up his subscription to the paper.

"This is only one of the many inquiries of this sort evidently made by agents of the department on which we are now getting affidavits.

"I suggest, therefore, that a proceeding of this extraordinary character ought to have your attention at once with a view to stopping it. Your prompt reply will be appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
ROGER N. BALDWIN."

Charles Erskine Scott Wood: "Immediately on receipt of two copies of 'Man!' I made a clipping and sent it with a personal letter to the President. I have sent your letter to me to the Attorney General, also with an expression of my own opinion."

Thomas H. Keel: "Please increase our supply to 25 copies of each issue until further notice . . . I see the authorities have been playing the usual game with you, in spite of all the boasting about a free press. As I said before, California is one of the most reactionary States in the Union. Their Criminal Syndicalist Law has been the cause of many foolish attacks." (Comrade Keel is erroneously assuming that the campaign to destroy "Man!" is one instituted by the State of California. It is a campaign carried on by the federal government throughout the country.—Editor.)

S. Tideman: "I have received the May issue, and read the front page editorial. Hm. What damned fools those mortals be. Antediluvian meddlesicks. What breed of men are they, scared by a storm in a spoon and seeing spooks in daylight . . . I am enclosing a dollar bill . . . It does not take an Anarchist to enjoy some fine articles in 'Man!' and some news that few other papers print."

William Bacon: "It may seem strange that I say I'm glad to hear that you are having difficulties. But, you know, there's no surer way of telling that you're doing damn good work. It's a big job ahead of us and we'll have to run into plenty of trouble before it's over with . . . 'Man!' continues to be our best paper. Long may it live! . . . Enclosed are copies of Bulletin No. 1. of the newly formed Libertarian

Group that is to study and propagate Anarchist Communism."

H. Carter: "I took the whole matter as a mere joke. I did not think it would be so serious. It is nothing new to be arrested for my radical ideas. They (the federal agents) told me you have been arrested, the office closed, and that 'Man!' will no longer appear. If you could, send me some copies of the May issue, I will mount the stump on the Public Square of Cleveland and speak on the subject of the Government's Attempt to Destroy 'Man!', and distribute the issue to the public. I will write the Civil Liberties Union and tell them all I know." (Comrade Carter was one of those "honored" by a visit and call to the federal office of Cleveland. After being detained for hours of questioning, he was released.)

Dr. J. Globus: "I am sorry to hear that Man! has such a hard time financially. I sort of hoped that you would be an exception to the general rule, that radical papers, especially if they are good and earnest must be on the rocks or near the rocks. I am sending a check for \$2.00—I would have liked to make it more . . . I must again repeat—Man! is splendid, the best Anarchist paper ever! Beautiful to look at, interesting reading material, proper spirit and an intelligent approach . . . I hope the comrades will help you out of your present squeeze, it would be a pity that Man! should succumb."

Ewing C. Baskette. (American Civil Liberty Union Conclave of Nashville, Tenn.) "Tell the readers not to answer questions and to stand on their constitutional rights."

A. L. Wirin, Counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union of New York City: "Run a little notice in your next issue requesting all readers annoyed by immigration officers to send in the facts to you or to us. (100 Fifth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.)

The Anti-Anarchist law has no provision for prosecuting aliens who purchase any Anarchist literature, or who subscribe to anarchist publications, when it is done in order to acquire knowledge and information. This arbitrary law against the aliens doesn't apply at all to natives.

Kate Austin's Unpublished Article

(Continued from Fifth Page)

of the fact that for ages man has usurped all privileges for himself. As late as 1849 in the U. S. Margaret Fuller of Boston wrote her plea for the higher education of woman and so eloquent were her words that it helped to open the doors of some schools for my sex.

In China they take tender female children and bind their feet to distort and stop the growth, for as a helpless dependent woman is considered the most attractive, I suppose. Only recently I was told by an intelligent man that a woman was "next door to an angel, that they were made to be taken care of and that it would demoralize them to go to the polls and vote, also that men did not love independent women any way."

One can always notice that men who talk this way never feel hurt when the angel chops the wood, milks the cow and builds the fire on a cold morning. He is not afraid of that sort of independence, but only of the kind that might question his authority to dictate the sphere of that angel. Is it not queer that women can do the hardest kind of manual labor from picking cotton, taking in washing or working in coal mines and not a protest is heard, but should she take it in her head to study medicine, practice law, lecture or write on woman's rights, the whole masculine world, with a few noble exceptions, is convulsed. Wise old fossils write learned and ponderous papers on the subject, the home is in danger, woman is unsexing herself, getting coarse and masculine and if she keeps on, the world will go to the dogs, and more rot to the same effect. Woman could not ride a bicycle with any comfort for a time, so great was the ridicule and abuse heaped upon her. The preachers preached long-winded sermons condemning it and even some doctors declared against the ill effects of the wheel. But woman persisted and won the day. She has learned long ago that she must trust her own judgment and not be guided wholly by authority if she is to get any happiness out of life.

Now once more back to China, as I mean to stick to my points if I have any: No one would be so foolish as to assert that the effect of Chinese women were naturally deformed or inferior. We know that at birth the feet of the little baby girl were straight and beautiful like her brothers, but a cruel and artificial custom restrained the growth. Likewise it is just as foolish to assert that woman is mentally inferior to man when it is plain to be seen her brain in a majority of cases received the same treatment accorded to the feet of the Chinese girls.

Common sense and observation confirm the fact of woman's equal brain development with that of man when given an equal opportunity. Darwin even holds out a straw to confirm this when he declares that if woman ever hopes to equal man or keep in sight, she must take an active part in the struggle for existence.

Today we see the narrowing effect of custom. The sons in a family are taught and urged to develop their business tact, to learn a trade, to become independent, to mingle freely in the world of business. The daughters in a family are kept under the authority of the parents till they pass under the authority of a husband. They are taught to make the most of their looks and look out for a good catch, a husband able to support them. A woman is never considered to be of age and it is not good form for her to be without a protector of some kind. If she sows any wild oats her inferior brain development is palliation of the offense, and she gets the full wages of sin, while her co-partner man, with his superior mental endowments gets all the sympathy and is generally looked upon as having been led astray.

But I see light ahead as far as woman's political rights are concerned and was greatly consoled the other day by reading that in Missouri women were allowed to vote on the stock law. How proud I felt to know that my Missouri sisters are allowed to say whether it shall be "hog up" or "hog down!" In imagination I saw their rights extended till they might vote for school directors or even county officers—hope could not go further!

For did not the Reporter say that the women exercised the franchise might be extended. Of course, no one is surprised privilege so modestly and intelligently that in time the that a woman should act modestly, but when she adds the word intelligently, the world stands agape, for we have been long taught that the two could not exist in woman, that if she acted with intelligence, modesty flew heavenwards.

I think it is my privilege to say that it is high time my sex ceases to monopolize all the modesty and that man ceases to claim all the intelligence, it is time for a fair division—and I am quite sure a little modesty will not hurt the men. As for intelligence, my sex has already experimented with that ingredient and found it like mother Eve's forbidden fruit, very good.

(Copied from the original manuscript in the Labadie Collection, Ann Arbor, Mich.) C. N.

Facts and Comments

(Continued from Second Page)

George F. Baker, founder of the First National Bank, left an estate valued at \$73,209,683. For any explanation as to how this vast sum was acquired, one need only to think of the millions now suffering in want and destitution. Aside from never having been punished by the "law" for this amazing wholesale robbery, the same "law" grants now, protection to Mr. Baker's heirs to continue indulging in the gorgeous wealth robbed of the multitudes. Such are the "laws" of capitalism's "civilized" system foisted upon mankind!

Thousands of cases of apples, valued at \$30,000, were rotting away on the docks of Havre, France on May 23, 1934. They were shipped from the State of Washington but the import quota has been exhausted.

What a consolation for our millions of needy people over here!

Professor H. Parker Willis, editor of the N. Y. Journal of Commerce, testified on May 22, 1934, at the mismanagement trial of the National City Bank, that 18 bank officers allotted themselves the sum of \$15,000,000 in ten years, in "excess" of what they were justified in receiving.

He didn't state the justified sum, nor did he reveal that it is the toil of the masses from which all these human sharks derive their gains. But this would be expecting a little too much.

Aneurin Bevan, Laborite in the House of Commons, rose on May First to make these remarks:

"The sovereign of this country is a patron of this dogs' home, and if there is any decency in this country, people would not say you can keep a child on two shillings a week while a dog cannot be kept for less than 9 shillings." The inclusion of the word "it" was very appropriate.

Financial Statement

(From April 15 to June 15)

INCOME	\$149.89
REFUND ON LAST ISSUE	22.50
BALANCE ON HAND	1.06
TOTAL	\$173.44
EXPENDITURES	\$160.46
BALANCE	\$12.98